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THE POSITION OF CANADA.

BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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BY J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

THE evolution of a new nationality is usually a slow, if not painful process. But in the case of Canada, external events and internal movements have created within the quarter of a century since the union of its Provinces what is to-day practically a British nation. The Constitution of Great Britain, composed as it is, of a great mass of historic precedent and unwritten laws, has been the product of centuries of strife and struggle. That of the United States is the result of over a hundred years of experiment, stern experience, and even Civil War. The Australian Colonies, after fifty years of a more or less formative process, are now gradually approximating towards national unity and a common constitution. The Dominion has, on the other hand, been exceptionally fortunate ; and, benefiting by the example of the great country with which it is connected politically and by that of the powerful Republic upon its southern frontier, has endeavoured to combine—and to a certain extent it has succeeded—the wisdom of both, in the development of a new nation in North America and the addition of another great State to the ever-widening circle of the British Empire.

Of course, this growth has not been altogether an easy one. The Colonies of which Canada is now composed, with some later exceptions, were born amid scenes of warfare and nursed in conditions of doubt and danger. All through their history as struggling Provinces they were subjected to the threats and bluster of the United States ; and had it not been for British connexion, absorption in the Republic would long since have taken place. But if Great Britain preserved the independence of the youthful Colonies ; if she enabled them to develop internal liberty and constitutional government ; if she fostered in many

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ways their internal welfare ; she also made serious mistakes which in some cases have sown the seeds of present and future trouble. It was natural that the reaction following upon the loss of the thirteen Colonies, should have caused a change in the National method of governing Dependencies ; but it was lamentable that so many British statesmen and writers, up to within a decade of the present day, should have united in deprecating Colonial union ; in minimising the importance of Colonies to the mother-country ; and in urging separation and Colonial independence as the future, natural, and inevitable course. In the case of Canada, as we know, some theorists like Mr. Bright and Prof. Goldwin Smith, went so far as to urge its union with a foreign, and sometimes hostile power—the United States.

Now, when this particular school of thought has almost died out in Great Britain, it is found to have developed in the more progressive Colonies, and to be the main obstacle in the way of a closer and more beneficial union. Expressions of carelessness as to the maintenance of Canadian connection with the Empire, uttered over a prolonged series of years, produced naturally a considerable degree of actual indifference as to Canadian treaty rights and land-ownership, in North America. Hence the blunders of diplomacy which lost to British America the State of Maine and sacrificed its interests upon several other occasions. Hence, also the evolution of a party in Canada, and in other portions of the Empire, which claims that, as Britain appears not to have greatly cared for Colonial interests in the past, it is not necessary for the great Colonies to especially guard British interests in the present. Thus the Manchester School in England, though itself almost dead, leaves a direct heir and successor in the external States of the Empire. It is much to the credit of the British Conservative party that this Anti-Colonial sentiment was largely confined to the Liberal ranks ; and it emphatically marks the strange irony of fate that to-day, when Liberal and

Imperialist leaders like Lord Rosebery, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Playfair, Mr. Bryce or Lord Brassey, turn to Canada, they find that the Liberal leaders there have adopted, in part at least, the principles advocated by the British party not very many years ago;—in fact are now wearing their cast-off garments.

But with all the carelessness or ignorance which the mother-country may have exhibited, during the past century, in matters affecting the distant, and then comparatively insignificant Colonies, it is none the less evident, that the Dominion of Canada owes its present existence and maintenance as a rising and vigorous national entity, to the prestige and protection of Great Britain. Especially was this the case in those early days when the United States could have crushed the Provinces like so many egg-shells; but they did not think the matter worth a war with the Empire, after the experience of encountering British troops and Canadian volunteers in 1812. And in the present day British Connexion is becoming equally important, when American jealousy of Canadian development in trade and commerce, in railway and water communication, would place an independent Canada in very considerable danger of being either ignominiously “snuffed out” or of being compelled to assume the rôle of the Greeks at Thermopylæ, or that of the gallant Poles under Kosciusko. The attempt to maintain our independence might in the long run be successful; for Canadians possess many of the best qualities of their British ancestry, and the French-Canadians have all the daring and brilliancy of their fore-fathers; but the sacrifice would be tremendous. It will never have to be risked, if the people are true to British Union and to the best interests of their new nationality.

To an Englishman this phrase, “Canadian nationality,” may seem an odd one, unless used in the sense of separation from Great Britain. It represents something distinct, of course; and yet there is nothing in it antagonistic to the idea of British nationality. Scotchmen or Irishmen or Eng-

lishmen may consider themselves of different nationalities, and each is proud of his country's history and his ancestral home. Yet all are British in allegiance, and in unity of aspiration and power, or at least they should be. So it is with Canadians, who, as a people, are loyal to Imperial unity and yet are anxious to build up a Canadian nation upon this Continent. Undoubtedly the phrase is sometimes used in a disloyal and separated sense; but it is equally certain that if steps are taken in time, to guide this Canadian sentiment in the true direction, the result will not be the disintegration of the Empire, but its closer Union; not a separate nationality, but a distinct British-Canadian nation, standing shoulder to shoulder in the world's future history together with a British Australia, a British South Africa and a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. To achieve this great end, however, British citizenship must become full, free, and equal, to subjects abroad as well as at home—Imperial Federation must become in some way a fact; and though it may not be immediately practicable in any complete form, that noble ideal should be the recognised future towards which all parts of the Empire should strive, steadily and persistently. And toward this end, all the Constitutions and commercial arrangements of Great and Greater Britain should be gradually and carefully moulded.

But to return to Canada in particular. Dowered by the mother-country with an immense heritage, and joined subsequently by all that great country between the Lakes and the Pacific Ocean, the Dominion started in 1867, with a complete Federal system, founded, as far as possible, upon the best principles of the British and American Constitutions. Its territory is larger than that of the United States and constitutes one-third that of the whole British Empire. It possesses the greatest extent of coast-line, the most important coal-measures, the most varied distribution of valuable minerals, the greatest extent of lake and river navigation, the widest extent of coniferous forest, the most

extensive and valuable salt and fresh water fisheries, the largest and most fertile tracts of arable and pastoral lands, and the greatest wheat-areas, of any country upon the face of the globe. These statements may appear exaggerated ; but they truthfully depict, and only partially, the real resources and riches of the Dominion, undeveloped though they yet be. Following the evolution of the Eastern Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island into a Confederated State, came the gradual absorption of the great North-West, from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, and the formation of a strong, and, in spite of occasional Provincial jealousies and disagreements, a united people and country.

Partly as a result of political or national necessities ; partly as a product of economic requirements, there followed the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the creation of the National Policy of Protection. It was concerning the former possibility that William H. Seward, the well-known Secretary of State under President Lincoln, wrote in words which to-day ring with a truly prophetic sound :

" Having its Atlantic seaport at Halifax, and its Pacific depot near Vancouver Island, British America would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia, and the United States. Thus from a mere Colonial dependency it would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her, other nations would be tributary ; and in vain would the United States, attempt to be her rival ; for we could never dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, nor the power which that commerce bestows."

To-day, the Canadian Pacific Company has connected the most distant Provinces of Canada by an iron band, and possesses a system of 5,400 miles of railway ; it has opened up the magnificent North-West from which last year came a surplus of 20,000,000 bushels of the finest wheat in the world ; it has ploughed through the yawning chasms and mighty ranges of the Rocky Mountains ; and by means of steamship lines brought the furthest East into connexion with the Canadian and American West ; incidentally providing Great Britain with a war-chain round the world and an alternative route to Asia. So great an undertaking, however, required capital ; and the condition of the country's

finances prior to 1879, when the new Protectionist and Conservative Ministry of Sir John Macdonald inaugurated a different state of affairs, was certainly not flourishing enough to warrant any heavy national outlay. For some years, in fact, there had been a considerable deficit between ordinary income and expenditure. But after the "N. P.," as it was popularly called, had come into effect, and the higher duties, coupled with returning prosperity amongst the people, had produced a yearly increasing revenue, the Government was enabled to take up the project in earnest; and in 1880, a Company or Syndicate was organised and granted 25,000,000 acres of land together with a \$25,000,000 subsidy; in addition to this about 700 miles of railway costing over \$30,000,000 were transferred to the Syndicate. Other advances were made from time to time, but in most cases were temporary loans which have since been paid as they matured and sometimes even earlier. The road as a whole is estimated to have cost \$287,000,000, though only about \$90,000,000 of this sum has been contributed by the Canadian people, or added to the national indebtedness. This result was undoubtedly largely aided by the national credit having been pledged to the success of the great and difficult undertaking, thus enabling the Company to procure capital upon easier terms, and with facilities which could only be given by a powerful and friendly Government. And the work was well and speedily performed. Within a few years, and at least six years before the time promised to the Dominion Government, the Company had built the greatest railway in the world and conquered some of the most difficult engineering problems ever put by nature in the way of human enterprise.

As a consequence of the closer relations created between the Provinces by the Continental Highway; through the careful protection afforded to native industries; and the development of internal trade by the checking of unfair and ruinous American competition in the Canadian home market, the progress of the country has been most marked. Production of every kind has been promoted; the people

of the most distant Provinces have been united in the bonds of trade and travel, politics and intercourse; the different portions of the Dominion have been made interdependent, instead of being left to lean upon neighbouring parts of the United States for commerce and interchange; external trade has developed enormously and prices have steadily maintained to the consumer a lower level than in the neighbouring Republic. In view therefore of these facts, it may not be uninteresting to add a brief sketch of Canadian fiscal history to the ever-active discussion of tariffs and tariff questions. Canadians have experienced the preferential trade and cramped conditions of the old Colonial regime which fell, upon the abolition of the Corn-Laws, in 1846. They know how valuable that preference in the British market was in itself, but how restricted its benefits proved through the Navigation laws and the peculiarly narrow ideas which then prevailed concerning the Colonies and Colonial requirements or resources. But they also felt the ill-effects of the sudden abrogation of such long-continued fiscal arrangements; and the severe depression and hard times following upon the development of Sir Robert Peel's policy, caused, in 1849, the flickering Annexation agitation of which so much has been said from time to time, and of which so little is really known.

Since that period three distinct lines of fiscal action have been tried by the people of British North America,—Limited Reciprocity with the United States, a Revenue Tariff, and moderate Protective duties. From 1855 to 1860 the Reciprocity agreement was in force; and, as a result of the rise in agricultural prices following upon the Crimean War and maintained by the American Civil War, the arrangement is claimed by the present advocates of unlimited Reciprocity, or complete free-trade with the United States, to have been productive of great prosperity and of considerable expansion in trade. The claim is undoubtedly true as to the condition of affairs during that particular period, but the cause lay not so much in the mere admission of farm products upon

a mutually free basis—manufactures were not included—as in the external events referred to. After the abrogation of the Treaty by the Americans owing to the violent Anti-British feeling aroused during the war, the Confederation of the Provinces was formed; partly as a consequence of the financial distress and commercial depression caused by the sudden and unfriendly action of the United States; partly as a visible and effective reply to the then widespread belief in the Republic that it would coerce the disunited and presumably helpless Provinces into annexation; and generally, as a protective measure, and decided step in the path of progress and nationality. The Government constituted in 1867 to carry on the affairs of the new Dominion—with Sir John Macdonald at its head—did not propose or contemplate absolute protection. But it was found that the average duty of 15 per cent., first imposed by the Hon. A. T. (now Sir Alexander) Galt, when Finance Minister of the United Provinces of Ontario and Quebec in 1859, was really a sufficient protection as matters then stood, and was productive of a reasonable degree of progress, prosperity and national revenue.

But by 1873, when the Liberals under Mr. Mackenzie came into office upon a local issue, external circumstances had entirely changed, and in the previous year, the Conservative Finance-Minister had fore-shadowed the necessity of having higher duties. It was then that the industries of the United States had commenced to recover from the paralysis into which they had been thrown by the Civil War, and, benefiting by a protective tariff three times higher than the duties levied in Canada, they were soon enabled to supply their own local market and to turn their attention to capturing that of the Dominion which lay so invitingly open to external competition. Increased production in the neighbouring Republic resulted therefore in what was termed “slaughtering goods” in Canada; and the industries of the Dominion were thus destroyed one by one through the unfair competition of larger manufacturing

concerns, greater centres of population and a far greater command of capital. Nor was the Canadian consumer benefited by obtaining cheaper goods. As soon as a certain line of manufacture—stoves for instance—had been compelled to give way to the cheaper American product, and this had become a practical monopoly, the prices were raised to the same level which had meantime prevailed in the States. Sir R. J. Cartwright, Finance Minister under Mr. Mackenzie, made a feeble attempt to grapple with the problem by a uniform increase in the duties, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., without however any protective result being visible, even incidentally. After that effort (1874) the tariff was let severely alone, so far as any endeavour to check American competition was concerned. And this in spite of the most disastrous depression and pronounced popular discontent.

It was, therefore, not a matter for surprise, that Sir John Macdonald should have swept the country, in 1878, upon a platform of moderate protection and, in the year following, succeeded in establishing the system known in the pages of contemporary history and in current politics, as the National Policy. Since then, and through the turmoil of three general Elections it has been steadily maintained in principle, with occasional deviations in detail. The average of the duties as imposed upon all imports from external sources is about 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, or only thirteen per cent. higher than that in force during the Revenue tariff period of 1867-1879. Yet the ensuing development has been marvellous. The soup-kitchens provided for starving labourers without work, have disappeared from the cities of Canada; the endless voices of distress and the wail of the working-man unable to obtain employment are no longer heard in the land; factories began at once to rise all over the country and to establish themselves in a manner they have since been able to maintain; Manitoba and the North-West Territories commenced a wonderful career of progress; confidence was restored; American competition checked; and the credit of the country raised in the money markets

of the world, whilst a redundant revenue, with surpluses in place of deficits, became assured. To-day, the depression existing amongst British and American farmers has only touched the fringe of Canadian prosperity. It has had a limited effect, of course, and the lower prices for wheat, and one or two other products, have caused a feeling of discontent amongst a section of the farming community; but like the Canadian depression, the area of discontent is very small as was thoroughly proved by the result of recent bye-elections. Where it does exist, the sentiment is mainly confined to adherents of the party of pessimism—the Liberal Opposition—which has been so long out of office that some of its leaders have become unduly and unpatriotically despondent.

A few illustrations of the general progress made by the Dominion, as embodied in the following table, will be interesting, and at the same time will reveal some of the reasons upon which the Conservative party in Canada base their support of the present protective policy :

	1878.	1892.
Miles of Railway	6,143	15,000
Tons of Shipping employed	23,102,551	43,802,384
Letters and Post-Cards	50,840,000	123,665,000
Dominion Note Circulation	\$9,420,127	\$17,214,953
Deposits in banks	\$88,995,127	\$211,881,822
Money-Orders issued	\$7,130,000	\$42,825,701
Bank Note Circulation	\$20,215,020	\$33,788,578
Fire Insurance	\$409,819,000	\$759,502,000
Life Insurance	\$84,151,000	\$261,475,000
Exports of Cattle	\$1,152,000	\$7,748,000
" Cheese	\$3,997,000	\$11,652,000
Total Export of Farm products	\$32,028,000	\$50,706,000
Export of Home Manufactures	\$17,780,000	\$26,843,000
Consumption of tea (lbs.)	11,019,000	22,593,000
" Coffee (lbs.)	1,881,000	46,322,000
" Sugar (lbs.) (about)	100,000,000	345,000,000
Import of raw Cotton (lbs.)	8,011,000	46,000,000
Consumption of coal (tons)	1,665,000	5,885,000
Total trade	\$172,405,000	\$241,000,000

These figures clearly demonstrate a steady growth of popular comfort, a large increase in every branch of

national trade and industry, a marked addition to individual consumption of articles such as tea, coffee, and sugar, which the protection tariff has enabled the Government to make free to all. This development is all the more striking as the population has only increased half a million during the last ten years—1881 to 1891—whilst during the same period the capital invested in manufactures has risen from \$165,000,000 to \$353,000,000. It must be evident therefore after the most superficial examination of these statistics, to all who possess the most elementary knowledge of Canada and its past progress, or present prospects, that the Dominion now takes by right the most prominent place amongst the rising, united, and youthful communities of the world. Hope has hitherto been the motto of the vast majority of its people; faith in their country the inspiring motive to action. It goes without saying, however, that there are men who cannot see, or else wilfully fail to comprehend this development. Unfortunately there have been, through all these years, party leaders who were willing to preach persistent pessimism, to grossly magnify obstacles, to minimize progress, and, wherever possible, to hamper efforts. Confederation was carried in spite of some of these men; the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed in the teeth of most strenuous and continued opposition from others; the National Policy has been most unscrupulously attacked and the country vilified; while British connexion and Canadian independence of the United States are maintained to-day in face of the persistent action, hostile or insidious, of men who call themselves Canadians and British subjects.

Of this discontented and pessimistic section, Mr. Erastus Wiman, a New York millionaire, supposed to have been born in Canada, is the American leader, Mr. Goldwin Smith the literary exponent, and Sir Richard Cartwright the political head. In the columns of the *New York Sun*, a rabid Anti-British paper which delights in wholesale misrepresentation and abuse of Great Britain, Prof. Goldwin

Smith recently stated, under his own signature, that the Liberal party in Canada is an American party, and the Conservative a British one. True as it may be regarding the latter, this allegation of the now active advocate of Annexation, is untrue so far as it concerns the rank and file of the Liberal party in Canada. They are being educated in that direction by leaders like Cartwright, Laurier, Mercier or Edgar; but the seed has not yet sprouted sufficiently to permit of anyone in position taking off the mask and declaring publicly for annexation or even immediate independence. To teach steadily, year in and year out, that Canada's natural market is in the United States; that geographically and commercially the country is completely dependent upon its neighbour; that the Dominion cannot prosper without American good-will—which she has never yet had; that closer trade relations are necessary even at the expense of discrimination in tariffs against the Mother-Country or of separation from the Empire if they cannot be otherwise obtained; and that the present independent fiscal and national development of Canada, apart from the United States, is suicidal to the interests of our people—such an educational campaign must have its effect in time, and especially when it includes a steady misrepresentation of British sentiment, a specimen of which may be found in the constant quotation of the utterances of English Statesmen who have been dead for years, and whose views are now as obsolete as the rites of the Druids.

Of the three men described as leaders in this American campaign, Mr. Goldwin Smith is easily first. He is first in the vindictiveness with which he pursues the Loyalist and British leaders in Canada, as at one time he pursued Lord Beaconsfield; first in the influence which he obtains in Britain and the United States by a steady succession of magazine articles, newspaper letters, published lectures, and widely circulated pamphlets; first in the ability with which he distorts history, twists political action, and mis-

represents the position and prospects of the Dominion; first also in the unique position of posing at the heart of the Empire as an Imperial Unionist, and working in Canada as President of the Continental Union Club of Toronto, and the avowed advocate of the immediate Separation of Canada from Britain in order that it may enter the American Union. It is necessary to speak plainly in this connexion. While Mr. Goldwin Smith may command a facile and brilliant pen, and be admired for his abilities, it must be remembered that he is now actively engineering a movement which, if successful, would disrupt the British Empire, and if unsuccessful, as it must be, may easily result in bloodshed and Civil War. In Canada he has little real influence, no respectable following, and literally no popularity. But in the United States he is spoken of and written about as a great, representative Canadian; and in England certain circles still regard him as the staunch opponent of Imperial disintegration and the advocate of Imperial unity, because of his stand upon the Home Rule Question. It is as difficult to understand his complex and curious character as it is to comprehend the contradictory opinions which he presents. For instance, a few years ago, Professor Smith wrote in the *Bystander*, a well-known publication of his, as follows :

"A national conflict every four years for the Presidency and the enormous patronage that is now annexed to it, must bring everything that is bad in the nation to the top, and will end in the domination of scoundrels. The moral atmosphere is darkened with calumny, bribery and corruption, and all their fatal effects upon national character. How can the political character of any nation withstand for ever the virus of evil passion and corruption which these vast faction fights infuse?"

Yet the author of these and many similar words is striving with all his power to merge the British institutions, law and order of Canada, into a country which he thus describes, and which, within a very few months, has seen the Homestead riots, the Idaho State Militia called out to suppress a miners' rebellion, the terrible spectacle of the people of Texas turning out in thousands to help burn and torture a

negro to death, and the State of Kansas in a condition of Civil War over the claims of rival legislatures. But enough of Mr. Goldwin Smith. Canadians have certainly heard too much of him and his most injurious and disgraceful views, though Englishmen have hardly yet learned to appreciate the harm which his beautiful literary style has enabled him to inflict upon this loyal but distant portion of the Empire. Hence this somewhat lengthy reference to Disraeli's "Oxford Professor." But the policy of the Liberal party cannot be fully comprehended without some acquaintance with the sentiments and personality of its other leaders. Of Sir Richard Cartwright it is unnecessary to say much. Ambitious, but unpopular; an able speaker, but sarcastic to a degree which makes more enemies than the best of policies could make friends; a one-time Conservative, but alleged to have changed his politics because Sir John Macdonald would not give him the Finance Ministership in 1871; bearing an Imperial title, but advocating, since 1887, a clear-cut American and anti-British policy—he is a curious combination of rare ability and of qualities which would prevent any man from being a successful politician, to say nothing of attaining the higher position of statesman. Mr. Wiman is a clever man who has succeeded in making Americans think that in some way or another he will be able to effect a Commercial Union of Canada with the United States as a preliminary to Political Union.

Such are the men now controlling the policy of the Liberal party in Canada. The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, the nominal leader, is a man widely esteemed for his personal qualities and grace of manner and speech, but one who is entirely under the control of the stronger minds of his party. When Count Mercier, a man of strong will and much vigour of character, managed the affairs of Quebec Province as its Premier, his machinery in local elections was used to assist Mr. Laurier in Dominion contests; his supporters were Mr. Laurier's; and his opinions as a rule

were the same as those of his National Leader. So when the crash came and the grossest corruption was proved against the Mercier Ministry, it was very difficult to say where the line was to be drawn between the two leaders, although everyone was prepared to admit the personal purity of Mr. Laurier. So, in 1887, the Dominion Leader was averse to accepting or touching the policy of American free-trade, Commercial Union, Unrestricted Reciprocity, or whatever it might be called, which Mr. Wiman was busily propagating. But Sir Richard Cartwright thought he saw in the proposal a chance of success for their party; and not many weeks after Mr. Laurier had been speaking at Somerset, Quebec, in favour of the closer trade connexion of Canada and the Empire, Sir Richard boldly proclaimed at Ingersoll, Ontario, the very antitheses of this idea,—closer trade relations with the States and at Great Britain's expense, if need be. Soon afterwards the party was apparently forced into adopting a policy which has only resulted in yearly increasing disaster to it and to the hopes of its leaders.

It is true that some headway was made at first. People hardly understood that the new policy meant discrimination against British goods in favour of American, a uniform Customs tariff with the United States, and a probable pooling of the revenues of Canada and the States, together with a Dominion tariff controlled practically at Washington instead of Ottawa. And the pressure—more apparent than real—of the McKinley bill which came into force in October, 1890, also had an effect for the time being upon the farmer. So that in the elections which were brought on early in 1891, the chances were favourable to the Liberals, who had been working hard during the past four years; while the Conservatives had been resting more or less upon their oars, and thinking of their past victories under the Grand Old Man of Canada, Sir John Macdonald. And his personality was really the rock upon which the hopes of disloyalty and the labours of Americanized agitators were

finally broken. The Premier was ill, too feeble by far to manage a General Election, but he saw with the eye of an experienced Commander that to delay action much longer would be dangerous, if not fatal. At a moment, therefore, when three of the Liberal leaders were in the United States, before the McKinley bill had created the discontent which the Opposition hoped would follow upon the shutting of Canadian eggs, horses and barley out of the American market, before the Opposition was fully organised,—the House of Commons was dissolved, and the battle commenced. Sir John Macdonald, against his physician's express warning that it would wear out his already enfeebled frame, threw himself into the conflict as of old, and soon created that confidence in his followers which can only be compared to the enthusiasm which men like Richard Cœur de Lion or Henry of Navarre raised in the hearts of their countrymen when leading them to battle. He issued the famous manifesto which will last for all time in the memories of Canadians, declaring that the struggle was one for national autonomy, and that as for him "a British subject he was born, a British subject he would die." The election was won, and the Premier returned to Ottawa, after having made numberless speeches to enthusiastic audiences—on one day speaking five times. But he returned to die. In the bright days of June the old statesman passed away amid scenes of heartfelt sorrow, which are rare indeed in this practical age. For nearly fifty years he had been a Canadian leader, and for at least half that time Canada's greatest and most popular man.

But his policy still lives. Bye-elections which followed doubled the Conservative majority; and to-day Sir John Thompson leads a large and united party. Differences may exist upon details. One member may not like the duty upon coal-oil, another thinks the duty upon binder-twine might be dispensed with; but upon the broad general principle and policy of Canada for Canadians as against the talk of American union and Continental policies; of Canada

within the British Empire; of Canada for home products and manufactures so far as may be found beneficial; of Canada as a great British State; the Conservative party and the majority of the people are united, and will, I believe, remain so. To ensure that the maintenance of British connexion may remain an all-important consideration in the heart of the Canadian voter, it is necessary for the Mother-Country to aid, in every way possible, those who have taken up Sir John Macdonald's work—without having his unequalled personality and magnetism. If that is done, time will slowly but surely evolve that closer commercial, defensive and national union which should be included in the phrase, "Imperial Federation," as applied to the great self-governing States of the Empire, and which should be the one aim of British citizens all over the world.

Toronto, Canada.

Since this was set up, the Liberal Leader has formulated his policy as one of (1) Reform of the Customs Tariff in the direction of Free Trade rather than of Protection, (2) Reform of Land Grants in favour of settlers as against speculators, (3) Loyalty to England, but (4) with a staunch support for Canadian interests whenever they chance to clash with those of Great Britain, (5) Reciprocity with the United States, (6) Repeal of the Franchise Act.—ED.

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